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Department of State

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FEB 5 1962 REVIEW

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Rec'd: February 5, 1962

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FROM: PARIS - Caption and custody
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TO: Secretary of State

Date 4-4-91

APRIL 1964

NO: POLTO 1015, FEBRUARY 5, 8 P M (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

ACTION DEPARTMENT POLTO 1015 INFORMATION LONDON POLTO 197,
MOSCOW POLTO 116, BONN POLTO 189, BERLIN POLTO 98

EYES ONLY SECRETARY, AMBASSADORS AND LIGHTNER

NAC DISCUSSION FEBRUARY 5 RE THIRD GROMYKO-THOMPSON TALKS.

AFTER I CONVEYED REPORT BASED ON TOPOL 1111, CHAIR (ASARD)
SAID HE THOUGHT THERE WERE SOME NUANCES OF CHANGE IN SOVIET
POSITION. GROMYKO HAD NOT REPORTED ALL OF THE OTHER
CONDITIONS FOR AGREEMENT WITH REGARD TO ACCESS, SUCH
AS MEASURES DENYING NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO GERMANS, NON-
AGGRESSION PACTS, ETC. HE HAD REFERRED TO JANUARY 12.
I SAID WHILE IT WAS CLEAR GROMYKO HAD NOT BROUGHT THESE
MATTERS UP, IT WAS ALSO TRUE THAT THOMPSON DID MOST OF THE
TALKING AND GROMYKO RESERVED HIS RIGHT TO SPEAK AGAIN.

DE STAERKE THEN INITIATED REQUEST WHICH WAS JOINED IN BY ALL
OTHER MEMBERS FOR COPY OF PAPER ON ACCESS AUTHORITY THOMPSON
GAVE GROMYKO. GOING FURTHER, HE PARTICULARLY REFERRED
TO LEAKS IN US PAPERS TO EFFECT THAT SOVIET FREE CITY
PROPOSAL NOT ACCEPTABLE TO WEST AND STRESSED NEED
FOR CONSULTATION IN NAC SO THAT NAC CAN LEARN VIEWS OF
FOUR ON THESE MATTERS. REGRETTED FACT DECISION TAKEN BY
FOUR AND NAC ONLY TOLD OUTLINE RESULTS TALKS. FRENCH
REP HELD UP THREE FINGERS INDICATING THEY WERE NOT INVOLVED
THEREIN. DE STAERKE AGAIN PRESSED FOR FOUR POWER VIEWS ON
SOVIET DOCUMENTS GIVEN THOMPSON AND ON PRESS STORY THAT
ADMISSION FREE CITY OF BERLIN AT UN HAD BEEN REJECTED BY

US

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ACTION ASSIGNED TO: EUR/LCR NAME OF OFFICER & OFFICE SYMBOL	ACTION TAKEN USRC authorization documents DATE OF ACTION 2/7/62 DIRECTIONS TO RM/R File
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PARIS-POLTO-1015
CIO-1-91

762-0221-2-5-6

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~~REF ID: A657030~~

-2- POLTO 1015, FEBRUARY 5, 8 PM (SECTION TWO OF TWO) FROM FARIS

POSSIBLE PUBLICATION WITH IDEA OF CONVINCING NEUTRALS IT WAS
REASONABLE.

FRANCE, SAYING IT WAS "OUTSIDE NEGOTIATIONS", THOUGHT THOMPSON
LINE VERY REASONABLE. NOTED FINLETTER EXPLANATION THAT "RESPECT
FOR SOVEREIGNTY" MEANT CONTROL OF ACCESS. THOUGHT RUSSIANS WOULD
NOT NEGOTIATE UNLESS SUBJECTS OTHER THAN ACCESS INCLUDED IN AGENDA.
HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS ON WESTERN PAPERS BUT AGREED WITH GREEK
SUGGESTION WEST MIGHT WANT TO RELEASE US PAPERS TO PUBLIC.

HE THOUGHT SOVIET TACTICS MIGHT BE TO DELAY IN ORDER TO REINFORCE
SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH, CITING RECENT NUCLEAR TESTS. FRANCE
THINKS RUSSIA NOT PRESSING AS MUCH ON BERLIN AS FORMERLY, HAVING
OTHER PROBLEMS FOR THE MOMENT. WESTERN BUILD-UP AND FIRMNESS HAS
HAD AN EFFECT ON RUSSIANS. HOWEVER RUSSIANS CAN REVERSE THEMSELVES
AGAIN AT ANY MOMENT AND WEST MUST MAINTAIN VIGILANCE AND STRENGTH.

I SAID THAT AS FAR AS I COULD SEE THERE WAS NO QUESTION BUT THAT
WE EXPECT TALKS TO CONTINUE AND GROMYKO HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE
FELT THE SAME WAY. I REPEATED THAT THOMPSON HAD NOT REFERRED TO
THE RUSSIAN DOCUMENTS AND I DID NOT KNOW WHETHER WE WOULD REPLY TO
THEM OR NOT.

CHAIR, SUPPORTED BY OTHERS, THEN PRESSED UK FOR REPORT ON PRESS
STATEMENTS RE KHRUSHCHEV LETTER TO MACMILLAN. UK SAID WOULD INQUIRE.

STRONGLY SUPPORTED BY FURTHER INTERVENTIONS FROM BELGIUM AND
NETHERLANDS, CHAIR PRESSED FOR REPORT AS TO HOW WEST ANALYZED
PRESENT SITUATION AND SOVIET PROPOSALS AND WHAT WEST WAS PLANNING
TO DO NEXT. CANADA SUGGESTED SECGEN BE INSTRUCTED TAKE THIS UP
WITH AMBASSADORIAL GROUP. I SAID I WOULD REPORT REQUESTS FOR
FURTHER INFORMATION, BUT POINTED OUT TO COUNCIL THAT IF OTHER
MEMBERS HAD ANY COMMENTS OF INTEREST TO FOUR THEY SHOULD LET US
HAVE THEM SOONEST.

COMMENT: I HOPE YOU CAN SPEEDILY PROVIDE TEXT OF IAA PAPER FOR

CIRCULATION

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-3- POLTO 1015, FEBRUARY 5, 8 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO) FROM PARIS

AND SUCH OTHER ASPECTS AS DESTRUCTION OF WALL AND ALL-BERLIN
SOLUTION, BUT SHOULD REFUSE TO TALK ON NEW STATUS WEST BERLIN.
IF SOVIETS REALLY WANT NEGOTIATIONS, THEY SHOULD REDUCE THEIR
DEMANDS.

DURBROW

KEA:MGG

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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Control: 2821

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MICROFILMED 9:26 P.M.

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FROM: PARIS

TO: Secretary of State

APRIL 1964

NO: POLTO 1015, FEBRUARY 5, 8 PM (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

ACTION DEPARTMENT POLTO 1015, INFORMATION LONDON POLTO 197,
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CANADA SUPPORTED BELGIAN REQUESTS, SAYING IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR GOVERNMENTS TO COOPERATE IF THEY DID NOT KNOW WHAT WAS GOING ON, AND ALLIED GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE BROUGHT IN A LITTLE EARLIER THAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON WESTERN PROPOSALS. SUGGESTED WE TRY TO FIND OUT WHAT WAS MEANT BY "RESPECT FOR GDR SOVEREIGNTY." ASKED WHETHER NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE DROPPED IF RUSSIANS DON'T ASK FOR FUTURE DATE. IF SO, NAC SHOULD BE TOLD WHY SOVIETS LOST INTEREST. IF WE REFUSE TO DISCUSS SOVIET DRAFTS AND THEY REFUSE TO DISCUSS OURS, MFAASSE WILL RESULT.

AFTER ITALY SUPPORTED BELGIUM AND CANADA, DUTCH REP ALSO PRESSED FOR FOUR'S VIEWS, AND THEN GAVE PRELIMINARY DUTCH ANALYSIS QUITE SIMILAR TO GFR ANALYSIS OF GROMYKO PAPERS. PROPOSALS OF WHICH DUTCH THOUGHT SO INACCEPTABLE OR VAGUE AS TO GIVE OPPORTUNITY FOR SOVIET CHICANEY. PARA 1 OF STATUTE SPOKE OF "FREE AND DEMILITARIZED CITY", WHICH SEEMED TO OBLIGATE ANY OCCUPATION FORCES. PARA 2 BASED ON NON-EXISTENT CODE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. PARA 4 GAVE RUSSIANS OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITED WESTERN RIGHTS. PARA 5 OMITTED ANY QUESTION OF POLITICAL RELATIONS. AGREED WITH GERMAN COMMENT PARA 6 AND THOUGHT PARA 7 RE LONG-TERM ECONOMIC TIES LET RUSSIANS INTERVENE. PAPERS REPRESENTED NO OR VERY LITTLE CHANGE IN OLD POSITION AND NO ROOM FOR CONCESSION. PAPER DRAFTED FOR

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-2- PELTO 1015, FEBRUARY 5, 8 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO) FROM PARIS

US. DE STAERKE WANTED TO KNOW WHERE THIS LEFT THE TALKS. HOW DID THE FOUR SEE MATTERS PROCEEDING NOW? I SAID FAR AS I KNEW HAD BEEN NO DECISION AS TO WHETHER TO REPLY TO GROMYKO'S TWO DOCUMENTS IN THE SECOND TALKS AND NOTED THOMPSON HAD NOT REFERRED TO THEM IN THE THIRD TALK. I SAID I WOULD ASK FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ACCESS AUTHORITY DOCUMENT FOR THE NAC. DE STAERKE PRESSED FOR GERMAN VIEWS ON TWO GROMYKO DOCUMENTS.

GFR SAID PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS, PREPARED PRIOR TO THIRD GROMYKO-THOMPSON TALKS, WAS THAT THESE DOCUMENTS REPRESENTED FIRST DETAILED STATEMENT BY SOVIETS OF THEIR CONCEPT. WHILE GENERAL LINES HAD BEEN FORESEEABLE FROM EARLIER STATEMENTS, THESE WERE DEFINITIVE. GROMYKO PROPOSALS WOULD SUPPRESS BASIC RIGHTS OF ALLIES ON WHICH WESTERN OCCUPATION BASED, REPLACING WITH NEW RIGHTS LIMITED IN TYPE AND SCOPE. REFERRING TO DRAFT STATUTE, SAID ARTICLE 4 FORESAW CONTROL AND INSPECTION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS ON COMPLETELY CHANGED BASIS. ARTICLE 5 VERY FUZZY AS ONLY STANDARD IS LOOSE ONE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. ARTICLE 7 AT FIRST SIGHT SEEMS GENEROUS, BUT COMPARED WITH SOVIET NOTES OF NOVEMBER 27, 1958 SHOWS INTENTION TO MAKE WEST BERLIN COMPLETELY DEFENDENT ON EAST AND LOSE POLITICAL FREEDOM. POSSIBILITY OF INTERVENTION RESERVED TO SOVIETS IN ARTICLES 4 AND 9. ARTICLE 6 PLACES ACCESS AS SUBJECT TO AGREEMENT WEST BERLIN AND GDR, WHICH IS TOUGHER THAN GROMYKO SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER '61 POSITION, WHICH LEFT THIS IN SUSPENSE. IN WHOLE, GFR THINKS SOVIET DRAFT IS MAXIMUM POSITION AND SUPPORTS THEIR STANDARD FREE CITY LINE. IT COULD NOT BE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. GFR THINKS FREE CITY LINE IS MAIN SOVIET LINE, AND ALTHOUGH THEY MAY RETREAT ON OTHER POINTS, PROBABLY NOT ON THAT ONE. THOMPSON SHOULD IN FUTURE AVOID DISCUSSING THESE DRAFTS, JUST AS GROMYKO REFUSES DISCUSS ALL-BERLIN SOLUTION. HE SHOULD MAINTAIN WESTERN POSITION WHILE CONTINUING TO SOUND ON ACCESS RIGHTS

AND.

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-3- PCLTD 1015, FEBRUARY 5, 8 PM. (SECTION TWO OF TWO) FROM PAR 5

CIRCULATION TO NAC AND CAN PROVIDE FURTHER ANALYSIS AND INDICATION OF TRENDS OF NEXT ROUND OF TALKS SOONEST. NAC PRESSURES SEEM TO ME TO REFLECT NOT DISTRUST OF US, BUT NEED OF MEMBER GOVERNMENTS TO BE ABLE KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON, WHICH COULD BE DONE IF WE PERMITTED GIVE NAC ESSENCE THOMPSON INSTRUCTIONS. IN VIEW THIS CONCERN, CASARD ASKED ME SEND HIS COMMENTS ON MEETING TO STIKKER WHICH AM CONVEYING IN SEPARATE MESSAGE. HIS CONCLUSION "IT WAS AGREED" WOULD BE USEFUL STIKKER BRIEF HIMSELF FULLY THINKING OF FOUR IN ORDER REPORT TO COUNCIL, NOT ACCURATE. CANADA MADE SUGGESTION WHICH RECEIVED NO BACKING EXCEPT BELGIUM EXPRESSED DESIRE HAVE INDIVIDUAL ANALYSIS DEVELOPMENTS FROM OTHER MEMBERS FOUR.

DURBROW

KEA

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